vol. 72, no. 1 & 2, 1998

B. W. Higman

COOKBOOKS AND CARIBBEAN CULTURAL IDENTITY: AN ENGLISH-LANGUAGE HORS D'OEUVRE

In any attempt to understand the culture-history of food, the prescriptive texts hold an important place. The simple or complex fact of publication is significant in itself, indicating a codification of culinary rules and a notion that there exists a market for such information or an audience to be influenced. It can be argued that the emergence of the cookbook marks a critical point in the development of any cuisine and that the specialization and ramification of texts has much to tell about the character of national, regional, and ethnic identities. For these several reasons, a study of the history of cookbooks published in and having to do with the Caribbean can be expected to throw some light on what it means to be Caribbean or to identify with some smaller territory or grouping, and how this meaning has changed in response to social and political development.[1]

The transition from the oral to the written represents an important stage in the fixing of an objective text and the standardization of its elements (as in the measures and cooking times appropriate to a recipe). The printing/publication of a text (as in a cookbook) is even more significant, since it makes the text available for discussion and criticism in ways that oral traditions are not. Such a process of criticism may accelerate the rate of change or rationalization and facilitate social emulation. In order to understand these processes of change, poststructuralist anthropology has abandoned the search for an underlying code such as the "culinary triangle" (raw/cooked/rotten) and its associated "triangle of recipes" (grilled-roasted/smoked/boiled), and seeks rather to take a developmental approach (Goody 1982, 1987; Mennell 1985). Studies of culinary texts have, however, been few. Perhaps, it has been said, this is because few scholars are

New West Indian Guide/Nieuwe West-Indische Gids vol. 72 no. 1 & 2 (1998):77-95

cooks, and even fewer cooks are scholars. Again, the cookbook may have been seen as too humble a literary form to be deserving of attention from historians or the neglect can be interpreted in gender terms (Appadurai 1988; Bell & Valentine 1997:172-75).

The present paper offers no more than an appetizer, a partial and preliminary survey of the area, based primarily on an analysis of 119 English-language cookbooks published in or having to do with the Caribbean. All of these are listed in the References below, but the sample is incomplete even for the "Anglophone" Caribbean. One reason for this incompleteness is that libraries seem not to have followed an aggressive acquisition policy in respect to the humble cookbook. Some of the books are true ephemera, easily falling outside the net, but a good number of items resting on kitchen shelves are not found in the region's public libraries. In any case, the interpretation of trends in the quantity and content of cookbooks must be approached cautiously, bearing in mind the poor survival chances of this literature in libraries public and private. It is indicative that the review articles of Richard and Sally Price, regularly published in the *NWIG* between 1992 and 1996, included few Caribbean-published cookbooks in spite of their culinary metaphors.

Table 1. A Sample of English-Language Caribbean Cookbooks, 1890-1997

First edition	Published in Jamaica	Published in other (British) Caribbean territories	Published in other Caribbean territories	Published ouside the Caribbean	Total
1890-1899	1	-	-	-	1
1900-1909	-	-	-	1	1
1910-1919	-	-	-	-	-
1920-1929	1	-	-	1	2
1930-1939	-	-	-	-	-
1940-1949	-	1	-	1	2
1950-1959	-	-	2	-	2
1960-1969	2	3	-	1	6
1970-1979	7	4	4	10	25
1980-1989	22	8	3	14	47
1990-1997	16	6	2	9	33
Total	49	22	11	37	119

Table 1 sets out a preliminary chronology of the publishing history of English-language cookbooks relating to the Caribbean, derived from the sample of 119 items. A few points of definition are necessary. Publications counted as "cookbooks" are separate printed items devoted to the presentation of recipes for the preparation of food (and occasionally also drink). Recipes also appear in travel guides and newspapers, for example, but these are not counted. Manuscript collections are also excluded. The table is most reliable for Jamaica, but the pattern is similar for most of the categories, so some broad generalizations can be advanced knowing that further research, particularly on the Hispanic Caribbean, will no doubt demand revision.

The earliest known English-language cookbook published in the Caribbean is Caroline Sullivan's *Jamaica Cookery Book* of 1893. A trickle followed down to the 1960s, and then there was an explosion in output that continues to the present. Two questions stand out. Why did publication begin so late, and why has the cookbook become so common in the last twenty years?

In Western Europe, cookbooks were among the earliest of printed books and by the middle of the sixteenth century cookbooks had been printed in all of the main languages of the region (Mennell 1985:65). The Chinese had been printing verbal texts since the seventh or eighth century and the first known cookbook appeared during the Tang Dynasty (618-907) (Chang 1977:87; Anderson 1988:56). In the Caribbean and the Americas generally, printing followed on the heels of European colonization and served as a tool of the European civilizing mission. The Caribbean became a major producer of food, and manuals were written to guide this production in its agricultural and labor aspects during the period of slavery. But no cookbooks have been identified.

From the middle of the eighteenth century, English cookbooks included "West Indian" recipes. For example, the fifth edition of *The Art of Cookery* by Hannah Glasse, published in 1755, contained elaborate instructions on how "To dress a turtle the West Indian way." Glasse noted that "In the West Indies they generally souse the fins, and eat them cold, omit the liver, and only send to the table the callepy, and soop" (Glasse 1775:67). Recipes for the cooking of turtle remained common in English cookbooks (Carter 1772:28; Briggs 1792:54). Both English and North American cookbooks occasionally referred to the Caribbean, in the eighteenth century, as in "West-India pepper pot" (soup) and directions how to "caveach" fish "as practised in the West Indies" (Briggs 1792:35; Hooker 1984:58). No doubt West Indian planters and merchants, and their wives, possessed copies of such cookbooks but they did not reprint them or produce works defining a particular "West Indian" cuisine.

The first cookbook published in the United States of "American" authorship appeared in 1796 (Simmons 1965; Lowenstein 1972:4). No such manuals appeared during the colonial period. The association with the

establishment of the nation/state is significant, but it is equally important to observe that slave society and a developed cuisine, as symbolized by the cookbook, were not contradictory. Goody (1982:98) has argued that cookbooks are most likely to appear in literate civilizations with "high" and "low" cuisines: "a truly differentiated cuisine marking a society that is stratified culturally as well as politically." He has argued also that the nature of a cuisine is closely related to the system of food production and distribution. Where the display of class hierarchies is seen as critical to the maintenance of a social order, and where the powerful classes consume exotic, expensive foods, there cookbooks with their communication of specialist knowledge are likely to be published (Appadurai 1988:4).

This argument suggests several interesting interpretations of the Caribbean case. One is that the ingredients and techniques of food preparation were not strongly differentiated and that a "creole" cuisine readily understood by cooks, slave or free, emerged at an early period. There is evidence to support this conclusion, but equally there is much to suggest that the planter class did enjoy and display a cuisine which was "high" in quality as well as quantity. Certainly food was a cultural focus. Alternatively, it may be contended that the rapid rise of absentee-proprietorship and the shrinkage of the white population in the British West Indies meant too few high tables to provide a market for specialized cookbooks and too few literate cooks to make use of them. The male dominance of white society may be significant here, removing a potential literate female supervisory class from the kitchen. Yet another interpretation might be that the West Indian planter class was too powerfully oriented to English culture and that its high cuisine related almost exclusively to dishes that could be prepared from an English cookbook. This is not very convincing, in terms of the evidence found of planter tables, and it may be concluded that the arguments rooted in the size of the market and the creolization of cooks and cookery seem much more fruitful lines of investigation.

Thus far the argument has been concerned with an absence, the failure of the sugar-slavery society of the West Indies to produce even one cookbook with a creole/regional orientation. Emancipation made no difference. It was not until the 1890s and the collapse of sugar in Jamaica that a cookbook was published, with a self-conscious "Jamaican" perspective. Caroline Sullivan's *Jamaica Cookery Book* of 1893, beginning appropriately with turtle soup, was directed especially at "new-comers" to the island and explained for their benefit the ways of the "natives." This approach reflected the resurgence of the plantation, particularly through the banana, and the arrival of a new kind of white "settler" and "visitor." On salt-fish, Sullivan said (1893:12-15): "It is surprising to most new-

comers to find that in Jamaica there is hardly a more popular dish among the natives and often among the upper classes than the despised salt-fish, eaten at home [Great Britain] not from choice, – but as a sort of penitential dish." On meat, she said that "In this little work ... my desire is merely to introduce to new-comers to Jamaica, our own native methods of cooking our own products." She succeeded in producing a book almost exclusively based on uniquely "Jamaican" recipes, bringing together high and low cuisines for a middle- and upper-class audience. Although Sullivan's book was reprinted in 1897, it was soon lost to local memory and returned to manuscript form in a reverse progression from oral to written to printed. Thus in 1984 John Pringle privately printed a collection of recipes reputedly collected by his father's housekeeper and written in exercise books, which proved to have been merely a manuscript copy of Sullivan's published book. Sullivan herself gives no clues to the sources of her "collection" but they were no doubt a mix of oral and written texts, obtained from cooks and housekeepers and contemporary publications including newspapers (to which she refers explicitly).

The *Recipes for Cooking West Indian Yams* published in 1902 by the Imperial Department of Agriculture were designed for a metropolitan readership, since "an effort is about to be made to introduce West Indian yams into the markets of the United States and Canada and of the United Kingdom" (preface). Interestingly, this publication argued that when in season yams "form a standard dish at the planters table, in addition to being one of the staple foods of the estate labourers and, in fact, of all classes throughout the West Indies" (Imperial Department of Agriculture 1902:6). Recipes (contributed by Mrs. J.R. Bovell) were offered for baked, boiled and roasted yams, and for yam chips, yam rice, yam rissoles, yam *au choux*, porcupine yam, yam fritters, and yam pudding.

A Handbook of Trinidad Cookery, compiled by an unnamed (female) editor and published in England around 1920, collected recipes "kindly contributed by housewives." In this case there was no attempt to define a creole cuisine, though the reader was assured that all of the ingredients and utensils could be obtained in Trinidad. The arrangement was mechanically alphabetical, beginning with "Agouti à la Sandiford" contributed by Mrs. Greig. All of the contributors were female, Mrs. someone or other, including some probable Barbadians (Mrs. Yearwood who offered "sweet Barbados biscuits" and Mrs. E.L. Bovell with "jug"). None of the recipe names were associated with "Trinidad" but there were four "creole" items: creole cocoa, creole savoury (melangene), creole salad (calaloo, potatoes, breadnuts, onion, lime juice), and salt fish à la creole. There were recipes for lappe, pilau, sancocho, pepper pot, calaloo, but no pastelles.

Bengal chutney was contributed by Mrs. Adolphus Gittens, and "Bobotee" (Indian curry) by Mrs. Rankin.

Similar in approach and style was *The Peter Pan Book of Recipes* compiled by Mrs. W. Baillie and published in Jamaica in 1928. This is the first Caribbean cookbook identified without any West Indian reference in its title. The book has no introduction or preface and simply commences with "Baked Banana." Recipes for breadfruit, cassava, coconut, and other local materials are mixed with macaroni, scones, and junket; the only section identified with the island is for "Jamaica drinks" (tamarind water, sorrel, pine, and sour sop drink). This then is the first example of a general cookbook, unreflective of any local orientation, sold to raise funds for charity, at one shilling a copy towards the Jamaica Wesleyan Children's Home. Such ventures were to become common in the later twentieth century.

No new cookbooks have been identified for the 1930s. Two were published in the 1940s, one in Trinidad and the other in London, but none in the 1950s. In the case of Jamaica no cookbook is known for the entire period 1930 to 1962, the period of social unrest leading up to Federation and independence. No cookbook associated with the Federation has been identified. It must be concluded then that the formation of national identities prior to political independence in the British colonies found no significant expression in the definition of a West Indian cuisine.

The two cookbooks of the 1940s stand out as exceptions to this general rule. The first of these, *West Indian Cookery*, was published in London in June 1945 and reprinted regularly down to 1976 when a revised, abbreviated version appeared. The author, Miss E. Phyllis Clark, was "formerly Lecturer in Domestic Science, Government Training College for Teachers, Trinidad and Tobago and of Department of Education, Uganda." She prepared the book "at the express request of the Trinidad and Tobago Nutrition Committee" and it was intended to "foster in the young a correct attitude" towards nutrition and diet, and to reduce the incidence of malnutrition. Thus the approach was strictly didactic and the contents divided between sections on "Food" and "How to Cook Foods." The nutritional information came first, with West Indian references but generally presented in a universal/tropical framework. Only Chapter 10 "Ground Provisions" had a genuinely local ring to it. The second section included a discussion of mud ovens and coal-pots but followed through to the electric stove. The recipes included pastelles, sancoche, and the like, without explicit association with any Caribbean or Trinidadian identity.

"Creole" dishes included only creole pea soup, creole turtle soup, creole sauce or gravy, and creole pepper sauce. "Jamaica akras" was the only

recipe to mention the name of a West Indian island colony in its title. Of greater interest is the inclusion of a series of special chapters on diets for babies, toddlers, mothers, sick people and vegetarians, followed by East Indian recipes to "cater for the requirements of the substantial proportion of East Indian population of some of the Islands," and a chapter of Chinese dishes. These last two chapters remain virtually intact in later editions.

If Clark's *West Indian Cookery* lacked a strong regional identity Jean de Boissiere's *Cooking Creole* published three years later in 1948 was self-conscious in its message. A critic of colonial society, de Boissiere (1907-53) belonged to the French Creole strand of Trinidadian culture. Although de Boissiere was apparently the first male to publish a West Indian cookbook, he consistently identified the cook as female. In the "Entree" to *Cooking Creole* he claimed that "To understand Trinidad it is essential you know her foods and live by them" (de Boissiere 1992:3). In the course of a week, said de Boissiere, typical Creole meals touched the English (roast beef and baked potatoes), the French (saltfish au gratin), Spain (peppers and corn), and India (marsala). Interestingly, Africa is absent from the list, but he argued that "Creole cooking is international; all national prejudices must be dropped and our food approached with an open palate" (de Boissiere 1992:3). His recipes did however include dishes of "African origin." The 1992 reprint of *Cooking Creole* carries an introduction by Gerard Besson which gives a larger place to Africa in the development of a "patois of taste," and also includes the Chinese and Portuguese as contributors to "Creole cooking or West Indian cooking ... a grand amalgam of our historical experience" (de Boissiere 1992:introduction).

The first cookbook, so far identified, published in Jamaica in the 1960s was Leila Brandon's *A Merry-Go-Round of Recipes from Jamaica*, first appearing in 1963, the year after independence. It was directed particularly at "Jamaicans living away from home who have a nostalgic longing for dishes peculiarly Jamaican, and also to visitors to Jamaica who have a flair for cooking and would like to try their hands at dishes they have enjoyed here." These two new audiences were to remain important for the following thirty years. Beyond this objective, however, Brandon (1963:3), with a reputation for Stony Hill haute cuisine, expressed a desire "to see produced a really comprehensive Cook Book from Jamaica which would take its place in the countries all over the world, famed for their excellent cuisine." In these ways, can be seen a claim for West Indian cuisine as "high" rather than low or common, and hence a justification for the fixing of texts. Equally can be seen a looking back, from the perspective of the diaspora, to a style of cooking which should be preserved. Brandon began

with "Jamaica Rum Baba," in which local rum was the national element. She also offered recipes for "Dundee Cake (à la Jamaique)," "Jamaica Rum Souffle," "Jamaica Rum Cream," "Jamaica Northshore Devilled Lobster," "Jamaica Stamp and Go," "Jamaica Planter's Cheese Cake," "Jamaica Limbo Plantain," "Jamaica Corned Beef," "Jamaica Coca Fritters," "Jamaica Shrimp-and Rice," "Jamaica Beef Patties," "Jamaica Sweet Potato Pone," "Jamaica Yellow Yam Pudding," and a series of "Jamaica" drinks. Rice and peas Brandon identified as "Jamaica Coat of Arms." Two recipes for salt fish and ackee were offered, the first an "overseas version" using canned ackee and the second "a Jamaican specialty." Brandon also included "traditional" Jamaica Christmas pudding.

Of the forty-five cookbooks published in Jamaica since 1970, nineteen were written or edited by women and nine by men. The authors of the remainder have not been identified. The typical author belonged to the urban middle classes. More interesting perhaps is the increasing differentiation of the books. Specialized collections appeared for particular ingredients: bananas, callalu, pimento, cheese, peas, rice, and rum. Ganja was not among these, though it was the subject of at least one cookbook produced in the United Kingdom (Eric 1995). The items published in Jamaica included guides for vegetarians (Mahabee & Milton 1987), disaster preparedness (Leslie 1990; Thompson 1990), and nutrition (Leslie 1991). Books referring in their titles to tradition and nostalgia included *Jamaican Cookery: Recipes from Old Jamaican Grandmothers* (Spence 1981), *Restaurants of Jamaica 1983-84, Featuring Traditional Jamaican Recipes* (1983), *Traditional Jamaican Cookery* (Benghiat 1985), *A Taste of the Old Home Place* (Cuff 1989), *The Jamaican Chef: Over a Century of Traditional Jamaican Dishes* (Murray & Lewin 1990), and *Busha Browne's Indispensable Compendium of Traditional Jamaican Cookery* (1993). This appeal to the past went together with arguments that "traditional" methods and tastes deserved special attention and preservation.

The cookbooks published in Jamaica after 1970 regularly included "Jamaica" or "Jamaican" in their titles (42 percent) but rarely made the wider Caribbean a reference point. Most of the latter had originally been published in metropolitan centers. Exceptions were *Caribbean Style Eating for Disaster Conditions* (Thompson 1990) and *Caribbean Cooking and Menus* (Miller 1982). The latter, however, provided almost the entire text of *Creative Jamaican Cooking and Menus* (Miller & Henry 1989) and in turn of *Creative Bahamian Cooking and Menus* (Miller & Henry 1991). These three books shared Forewords, except for variation in the second paragraph as follows:

> The recipes in the book reflect to a large extent the cultural heritage of the people in the Caribbean: thus you will find recipes that reflect the Indian, African, European and both North and Latin American aspects of its culinary character. But each of the dishes has been adapted to make use of the food we grow, such as ackee, plantain, coconut, paw-paw, mango, cassava and many others, which are considered exotic in other parts of the world. (*Caribbean Cooking & Menus* 1982:foreword)

> The recipes in the book reflect to a large extent the cultural heritage of the people of Jamaica: thus you will find recipes that reflect the Indian, African, European and both North and Latin American aspects of its culinary character following the Jamaican motto "Out of Many One People." Many of the dishes have been adapted to make use of the food we grow, such as ackee, plantain, coconut, paw-paw, mango, cassava and many others, which are considered exotic in other parts of the world. (*Creative Jamaican Cooking and Menus* 1989:foreword)

> The recipes in the book reflect to a large extent the cultural heritage of the people of the Bahamas: thus you will find many of the dishes use the food we grow, such as peas, coconut, paw-paw, mango, okra and many others, which are considered exotic in other parts of the world. (*Creative Bahamian Cooking and Menus* 1991:foreword)

What is important about these parallel models is that by the 1970s a consensus had emerged, in which national and generalized "Caribbean" cuisine were seen to be extensively interchangeable. Each place had its particular specialities, and "national dishes" were widely recognized, but underlying the differences was a common creole Caribbean cuisine. The distinguishing feature of this cuisine was consistently identified as spice, and it was seen as the product of a blending of cuisines from other places. The model commonly adopted by West Indian cookbook-writers from about 1970 was the melting-pot, an image suggestive of pervasive creolization rather than the plural society. Caribbean cuisine was seen as a paradigm, the plate of food a microcosm of society. Some writers have termed it "creole cuisine," using "creole" to indicate mixture as well as local origin (Sookia 1994:8). The melting-pot version has appeared in so many cookbooks that it seems to have attained the status of a fixed text in the same way as the recipes became fixed in print. It took a literal form in the Belize Hospital Auxiliary's *Cook Book* of circa 1970 in which the ingredients for the national dish consisted of "1½ Caribs, 4 Creoles, 1 Mayan, 2½ Mestizas (Indian and Spanish), also other nationalities (all sizes, shapes and shades)." These were to be mixed well and baked slowly in a tropical sun, but said to "blend well when not stirred too much." Caribbean cookbooks published after 1970 consistently referred to history in advancing the melting-pot model. For example:

> The history of food in Trinidad and Tobago is as exciting and as interesting as the history of the country itself. Written records are few, but customs handed down from generations to generations, principally through observation, and methods passed on by word of mouth indicate a cuisine that can truly lay claim to being well spiced with the traditions of the many races who together constitute this homogeneous society. Into the pot have gone the customs of the Caribs and Arawaks, the Spanish, the French, the English, the African, the Indian, Portuguese and the Chinese. (Hunt 1985:vii)

> The foods, languages, customs and the cultural and racial mixes of the West Indian islands of the Caribbean are as varied as any on earth. The British, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Swedish, Danish, Dutch, Americans, and Maltese all served as regional colonial powers. Labor was imported from Africa, China, India, and Scotland. Each nationality brought its languages, foods, religions, holidays, traditions and racial heritage to mix into "the cultural stew." The richness of this historical lineage is reflected in the spicy flavors of our island foods, the lovely smiles on our multi-hued skins, and the lilt of our various island patois. (Antilles School 1986:title page)

> Caribbean cuisine is essentially the melting pot – and a tasty one at that – of Arawak, African, European, Asian and American cooking. These various culinary influences have been absorbed in a unique way over the centuries. One specific characteristic which identifies traditional Caribbean dishes is the use of fresh herbs and spices. Recipes vary from island to island, as they do from kitchen to kitchen, but seasoning is the common denominator. (Hamilton 1990:3)

> Cuban food reflects the Cuban spirit: a hearty appetite for enjoying the sweetness and richness of life, and a respect for tradition coupled with adventurousness. The food also reveals the history of Cuba and the diverse groups of people who have inhabited the island. Cuban cuisine is a melting pot of ingredients and cooking techniques from around the world. (Creen 1991:10)

Such appeals to history served to establish a single account of the past, in which the blending of peoples and cultures occurred in much the same way in all parts of the region. Individual, national histories (generally still attached to particular European powers) coexisted with a broader Caribbean unity of experience, expressed in cuisine and other areas of culture rather than any model of political regional nationalism. This account of the Caribbean past possessed special attractions for middle-class postcolonial migrants, and a large number of the Caribbean cookbooks published since 1970 have been written by such people, stating as their impulse a desire to retain their culture in new "multicultural" countries. Food offered opportunities for these purposes not necessarily attainable in other areas of culture and the writing of cookbooks served also to elevate the cuisine to a higher status within the host cultures.

What is in contention, then, is the extent to which "national" and "ethnic" identities can be subsumed within a broader regional, Caribbean character. In 1970, Mary Slater could write in *Caribbean Cooking for Pleasure* that the islands were diverse, with "French, Dutch, Spanish, American or British customs and Danes, Portuguese, Indians, Lebanese and Chinese, all mix and mingle with the Africans who form the bulk of the West Indian population." She concluded however that "There is no distinct trend in Caribbean cooking, many nations brought and left their customs, habits and ceremonies just as they left their regional dishes" (Slater 1970:6). This plural model seems to fit the recent cookbooks of Suriname, for example, with their differentiation by ethnicity (Starke & Samsin-Hewitt 1987). The English-speaking Caribbean has its cookbooks devoted to East Indian cuisine, derived from traditional Indian recipes though "distinctly Indo-Caribbean in flavour" (Mahabir 1992). Occasional publications emphasize the Africanness (Grant 1992; Hafner 1996) or Englishness (Mackie 1995:16) of the region's cookery. Generally, however, the emphasis has shifted to the essential oneness and uniqueness of Caribbean cuisine. Thus Carmen Aboy Valldejuli's Puerto Rican Cookery (1987:x) argues that common basic ingredients are at the bottom of every Caribbean pot: "Though they may be used with slight differences in the different islands, the result is that the delicate blends and innovations of five centuries have developed a genuine Caribbean cuisine." Resistance to this notion of similarity seems greatest in the Francophone Caribbean. André Nègre (1985:12), for example agreed that "La cuisine antillaise et guyanaise est le miroir de ce pays qui est une mosaique ethnique," but went on to argue that the cuisine of these territories was very different to that of the Anglophone Caribbean. Nègre concluded:

> j'affirme que l'influence de la cuisine française, la première du monde, a donné aux territoires qui en relèvent, des bases et des principes inégalables qui ont entraîné, même dans le people, un raffinement du goût et une sensibilité du palais qui n'ont rien à voir, Dieu merci, avec ce qui s'est passé dans les autres Antilles. (Nègre 1985:12)

Food, therefore, remains a problematic symbol of Caribbean identity. The cookbook-writers of recent times have not been completely successful in creating a single account of the Caribbean past or a single, unitary definition of Caribbean cuisine or culture. In their efforts to achieve this objective, they have however fixed Caribbean cuisine in a traditional/nos-

talgic mould, locating it in times past and places lost. The cuisine commonly becomes something to be preserved rather than developed, an attitude paralleling the fixing of the social memory in the cookbook's text.

NOTE

1. For comments and assistance the author particularly thanks Sandra Barnes, Ellie Bolland, Gregory Bowen, Marianne Ramesar, and Arnie Sio.

REFERENCES

100 Favourite Old-tyme Molasses Recipes Made with Pure Barbados Fancy Molasses, [1970]. Halifax, NS: Layne.

100 Prize-Winning West Indian Recipes, [1964]. Trinidad: Angostura.

ANDERSON, E.N., 1988. *The Food of China*. New Haven CT: Yale University Press.

ANTILLES SCHOOL, 1986. *The Island Epicurean: Recipes from the Virgin Islands' Finest Restaurants*. Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas: The Antilles School.

APPADURAI, ARJUN, 1988. How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30:3-24.

BABB, DALTON, 1986. *Cooking the West Indian Way*. London: Macmillan Caribbean.

BAILLIE, MRS. W., 1928. *The Peter Pan Book of Recipes*. Kingston: Daily Gleaner.

Banana Recipes, 1975. Kingston: Novelty Trading.

BAPTISTE, RHONA (ed.), 1987. *Trinidad and Tobago Cookbook: The Favourite Recipes of Twenty-five Popular Trinidadians and Tobagonians*. Port of Spain: Imprint Caribbean.

BARNES, SANDRA, 1993. *The Breadfruit in the Caribbean, 1793-1993: Recipes from Caribbean Cookbooks*. St. Augustine: UWI, Main Library.

BARROW, ERROL W. & KENDAL A. LEE, 1988. *Privilege: Cooking in the Caribbean for Men Only (and for Women Who Care)*. London: Macmillan Caribbean.

BASTYRA, JUDY, 1987. *Caribbean Cooking*. New York: Exeter Books.

BELIZE HOSPITAL AUXILIARY, [1970]. *Cook Book*. Belize: Benex.

BELL, DAVID & GILL VALENTINE, 1997. *Consuming Geographies: We Are Where We Eat*. London: Routledge.

BENGHIAT, NORMA, 1985. *Traditional Jamaican Cookery*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Boonoonoonoos: A Collection of Recipes, 1987. Kingston: American Women's Group.

BRANDON, LEILA, [1975]. *A Merry-Go-Round of Recipes from Jamaica*. Kingston: Novelty Trading. [Orig. 1963.]

BRIGGS, RICHARD, 1792. *The Art of Cookery, According to the Present Practice*. Philadelphia: Spotswood.

Busha Browne's Indispensable Compendium of Traditional Jamaican Cookery, 1993. Kingston: The Mill Press.

CABANILLAS, BERTA & CARMEN GINORIO, 1974. *Puerto-Rican Dishes*. Río Piedras: Ed. de la Universidad de Puerto Rico. [Orig. 1956.]

Callalu: A Good Mixer, 1971. Kingston: Scientific Research Council.

Captain Blackbeard's Beef Creole and Other Caribbean Recipes, 1981. London: Peckham Publishing Project.

CARNEGIE SCHOOL OF HOME ECONOMICS, 1994. *What's Cooking in Guyana*. London: Macmillan. [Orig. 1973.]

CARTER, SUSANNAH, 1772. *The Frugal Housewife, or Complete Woman Cook*. London: Newberg.

CHAMPAGNIE, SANDRA (ed.), 1987. *Jamaican Pimento "Allspice" Uses and Recipes*. Kingston: Jamaica Information Service.

CHANG, K.C. (ed.), 1977. *Food in Chinese Culture: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives*. New Haven CT: Yale University Press.

CLARK, E. PHYLLIS, 1976. West Indian Cookery. London: Thomas Nelson. [Orig. 1945.]

CLEARY, TERESA E., 1986. *Jamaica Run-dung: Over 100 Recipes*. Kingston: Brainbuster. [Orig. 1970.]

A Collection of 19th Century Jamaican Cookery and Herbal Recipes [As Given to John Kenneth McKenzie Pringle by His Aunt Marjorie Pringle Campbell], 1990. Kingston: The Mill Press.

COLLYMORE, YVONNE, 1972. *Cooking Our Way: A Course in Caribbean Cookery and Nutrition*. Aylesbury, U.K.: Caribbean Universities Press/Ginn.

Cooking the Caribbean Way: A West Indies Recipe Book, [1990]. St. Maarten: Lord and Hunter.

Cooking with Red Stripe, [1993]. Kingston: Desnoes and Geddes.

CREEN, LINETTE, 1991. *A Taste of Cuba: Recipes from the Cuban-American Community*. New York: Dutton.

The Cuban Flavor, 1979. Miami: Downtown Book Centre.

CUFF, PATRICIA, 1989. *A Taste of the Old Home Place: Select Jamaican Recipes*. Mandeville, Jamaica: The Author.

CUNINGHAME, JUDY, 1971. *Some Fruits and Recipes of Jamaica*. Virgin Islands: Caribbean Natural Colour.

DE BOISSIERE, JEAN, 1992. *Cooking Creole: Suggestions on Making Creole Food*. Port of Spain: Paria. [Orig. 1948.]

DEDEAUX, DEVRA, 1989. *The Sugar Reef Caribbean Cookbook*. New York: Dell.

DELANNAY, DOCTEUR ROBERT, 1981. *La cuisine créole amaigrissante: Connaissance des produits limentaires antillais (fruits, legumes, crustacés, poissons, viandes)*. Paris: Ed. Caribéenes.

Délices de la cuisine créole, 1986. S.l.: Ludion.

DEMERS, JOHN, 1989. *Caribbean Cooking*. Los Angeles: HPBooks.

—, 1992. *Caribbean Desserts*. Freedom CA: The Crossing Press.

DESINOR, MARCELLE, 1983. *Cuisine haïtienne*. Montreal: Ed. Deluy.

DÉSORMEAUX, EMILE (ed.), 1977. *La cuisine créole de plein air*. Fort-de-France: Ed. Désormeaus.

DONALDSON, ENID, 1993. *The Real Taste of Jamaica*. Kingston: Ian Randle.

DUDLEY, OFE S. (ed.), 1988. *R.S.V.P.: Personalities of Jamaica Entertain: Their Secret Recipes and Historic Menus*. Kingston: JUST US.

ELWIN, HYACINTH I.R., [1975]. *Report of a Field Study on Local Recipes in Dominica*. [Dominica]: Commonwealth Youth Programme, Caribbean Regional Youth Development Centre.

Entertaining with Cheese, [1980]. Kingston: Dairy Industries Jamaica.

ERIC, 1995. *Cooking with Ghanja*. Dorset, U.K.: Ghanja Press.

Famous Native Recipes of the Virgin Islands Gathered from Outstanding Cooks on St. Thomas, St. Croix and St. John, 1979. St. Thomas: Rolfe Associates.

A Festival of Jamaica Cuisine, 1983. Kingston: Jamaica Cultural Development's Culinary Arts Department.

From Everyday to Gourmet: The Angostura Cookbook, 1968. Trinidad: Angostura.

GARDNIER, KENNETH, 1986. *Creole Caribbean Cookery*. London: Grafton.

GLASSE, HANNAH, 1983. *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*. London: Prospect. [Orig. 1747.]

GOLDMAN, VIVIEN, 1992. *Pearl's Delicious Jamaican Dishes*. New York: The Island Trading Company.

GOODY, JACK, 1982. *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

—, 1987. *The Interface between the Written and the Oral*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

GRANT, ROSAMUND, 1992. *Caribbean and African Cookery*. Kingston: Ian Randle. [Orig. 1988.]

GREY, WINIFRED, 1965. *Caribbean Cookery*. London: Collins.

HAFNER, DORINDA. 1996. *Dorinda's Taste of the Caribbean: African-Influenced Recipes from the Islands*. Berkeley: Ten Speed Press.

HAMELECOURT, JULIETTE, 1987. *Caribbean Cookbook*. Melrose Park IL: Delair. [Orig. 1980.]

HAMILTON, JILL, 1990. *A Little Jamaican Cookbook*. Kingston: Heinemann.

A Handbook of Trinidad Cookery, [1920]. Ross, U.K.: Richard Powle.

HARRIS, DUNSTAN A., 1988. *Island Cooking: Recipes from the Caribbean*. Freedom CA: The Crossing Press.

HAWKES, ALEX D., 1978. *The Flavors of the Caribbean and Latin America: A Personal Collection of Recipes*. New York: Viking Press.

HENRY, MIKE, 1980. *Caribbean Cocktails and Mixed Drinks*. Kingston: Kingston Publishers.

HINGSTON, CHARLOTTE & JILL WALKER, 1983. *Jill Walker's Cooking in Barbados*. Welches Plantation, Barbados: Best of Barbados.

HOOKER, RICHARD J. (ed.), 1984. *A Colonial Plantation Cookbook: The Receipt Book of Harriott Pinckney Harry, 1770*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.

HUNT, SYLVIA, 1985. *Sylvia Hunt's Cooking: Proud Legacy of Our People*. Port of Spain: The Author.

IDONE, CHRISTOPHER & HELEN MCEACHRANE, 1992. *Cooking Caribe*. New York: Clarkson N. Potter.

IMPERIAL DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE FOR THE WEST INDIES, 1902. *Recipes for Cooking West Indian Yams*. S.l.: Issued by the Commissioner of Agriculture.

INDAR, POLLY B., DOROTHY B. RAMESAR & SYLVIA BISSESSAR (eds.), 1988. *Naparima Girls High School Diamond Jubilee, 1912-1987, Recipe Book*. San Fernando, Trinidad: Naparima Girls High School.

International Recipes: Souvenir of International Year of Peace 1986, 1986. Roseau: Dominica National Commission for UNESCO.

JADAN, IVAN & DORIS JADAN, 1979. *V.I. Cuisine with Ivan and Christine*. St. Thomas: The Authors.

JAMAICA INFORMATION SERVICE, [1968]. *Jamaican Cuisine*. Kingston: Jamaica Information Service.

Jamaica Rum Book, 1986. London: Macmillan Caribbean.

The Jamaican Bar Tender, 1991. Montego Bay: Life Long Publishers.

A Jamaican Cheese Cookbook, 1988. Kingston: CGR Communications for Dairy Industries Jamaica Limited.

JONES, NOVLET C., 1981. *Cook Up Jamaica Style*. Jamaica: Information and Communications Unit, Ministry of Agriculture. [Orig. 1977.]

"K," DR. BETTY, 1990. *Caribbean Cuisine*. Regina, Sask: Centax.

LAMBERT ORTIZ, ELIZABETH, 1977. *Caribbean Cooking*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

—, 1991. *The Cooking of the Caribbean*. London: Sainsbury.

LARAMORE-CRAWFORD, SYLVIA, 1991. *Cooking the Bahamian Way and Bush Tea*. Nassau: The Author.

LEE, RUSTIE, 1985. *Rustie Lee's Caribbean Cookbook*. London: Collins.

LESLIE, KENNETH A. (ed.)., 1990. *Food for Disaster Preparedness and Recovery: A Household Guide*. Kingston: National Food and Nutrition Co-ordinating Committee of Jamaica.

LESLIE, KENNETH A., 1991. *Living Healthy within My Means: A Food and Nutrition Guide*. Kingston: National Food and Nutrition Co-ordinating Committee of Jamaica.

LOWENSTEIN, ELEANOR, 1972. *Bibliography of American Cookery Books, 1742-1860*. Worcester: American Antiquarian Society. [Orig. 1929.]

MCLAREN, SCOTTY, [1982]. *30 Classical West Indian Recipes*. Trinidad and Tobago: Mushroom.

MCLEAN, ELAINE R., 1989. *Jamaican Cooking with Jamaican Talk*. Milwaukee: The Author.

MACKIE, CRISTINE, 1995. *Life and Food in the Caribbean*. Kingston: Ian Randle. [Orig. 1991.]

MAHABEE, LINDA A. & L. MILTON, 1987. *A Vegetarian Cookbook and Better Living Guide*. Mandeville, Jamaica: College Press.

MAHABIR, KUMAR, 1992. *Caribbean East Indian Recipes*. San Juan, Trinidad: Chakra.

"Men Who Cook" Recipe Book, 1994. Tunapuna, Trinidad: Women's Organisation for the Underprivileged.

MENNELL, STEPHEN, 1985. *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present*. Oxford: Blackwell.

MILLER, ELSA, [1970]. *Cook It My Way*. Discovery Bay, Jamaica: Northern Lithographers.

—, 1982. *Caribbean Cooking and Menus*. Kingston: Kingston Publishers.

MILLER, ELSA & LEONARD HENRY, 1989. *Creative Jamaican Cooking and Menus*. Kingston: Kingston Publishers. [Orig. 1982.]

—, 1991. *Creative Bahamian Cooking and Menus*. Kingston: Kingston Publishers. [Orig. 1982.]

MODESTE, NAOMI N., 1981. *Your Vegetarian Cookbook for Healthful Cooking: With Over 100 Recipes*. Port of Spain: College Press.

MOOREHEAD, LAURA-ANN, 1977. *Kruzan Nynyam from Mampoo Kitchen*. St. Croix: The Author.

MORLEY, LAUREL-ANN, 1991. *Cooking with Caribbean Rum*. London: Macmillan.

MURRAY, BYRON & PATRICK LEWIN, 1990. *The Jamaican Chef: Over a Century of Traditional Jamaican Dishes*. Montego Bay: Life Long Publishers.

MURRAY, DEA, 1985. *Cooking with Rum: Caribbean Style*. St. Thomas, U.S.V.I.: Rolfe Associates.

NÈGRE, ANDRÉ, 1985. *Antilles et Guyane à travers leur cuisine*. Paris: Ed. Caribéenes.

Nestlé Quick 'n' Easy Desserts and Drinks, [1985]. Kingston: Food Specialities Jamaica.

Nestlé Sweetened Condensed Milk Recipe Book, [1990]. Kingston: Nestlé.

NG-A-FOE-LO-A-NJOE, AIRLINE, 1988. *Surinaams Chinees kookboek*. Paramaribo: Restaurant Luciën.

OSBORNE, LAURA, 1990. *The Rasta Cookbook*. London: Macdonald. [Orig. 1988.]

Panorama of African Recipes, 1980. Kingston: African Caribbean Institute of Jamaica.

PARAÏSO, AVIVA, 1988. *Caribbean Food and Drink*. Hove, U.K.: Wayland.

PARIS, ROBEL, 1955. *Haitian Recipes*. Port-au-Prince: Deschamps.

Peas Please! 1972. Kingston: Scientific Research Council.

PRICE, RICHARD & SALLY PRICE, 1992. Callaloo. *New West Indian Guide* 66:95-99.

—, 1993. Rundown. *New West Indian Guide* 67:101-08.

—, 1994. Migan. *New West Indian Guide* 68:123-33.

—, 1995. Sancocho. *New West Indian Guide* 69:127-41.

—, 1996. Turning Coo-coo. *New West Indian Guide* 70:113-31.

—, 1997. Cook's Day Off. *New West Indian Guide* 71:87-105.

QUINN, LUCINDA SCALA, 1997. *Jamaican Cooking: 140 Roadside and Homestyle Recipes*. London: Macmillan.

Rake 'n' Scrape in de Kitchen, 1986. Nassau: Woman '86 Committee.

RANKINE, PEGGY, 1986. *Simply Delicious: A Collection of Original Recipes and Useful Kitchen Hints*. Mandeville, Jamaica: West Indies College Press.

Restaurants of Jamaica 1983-1984, Featuring Traditional Jamaican Recipes, 1983. Montego Bay: Beamish.

Rice Cook Book, [1991]. Montego Bay: Grains Jamaica.

ROBERTS, JILL, 1987. *A Hamper of Recipes from Jamaica*. Kingston: Heinemann.

RUSMAN, TICA, [1988]. *Cushina crioyo y otro receta*. Curaçao: Salas.

ST. CROIX LANDMARKS SOCIETY, 1993. *Crucian Confusion Cookin'*. Olathe KS: Cookbook Publishers.

The St. Kitts International Women's Association Cook Book, [1990]. St. Kitts: s.n.

SIMMONS, AMELIA. *American Cookery*, 1965. Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans. [Orig. 1796.]

Sint Maarten/St. Martin Cookbook: Antillean/West Indian Recipes, [1980]. S.l.: s.n.

SISTERHOOD OF MIKVÉ ISRAEL-EMANUEL, 1990. *Recipes from the Jewish Kitchens of Curaçao*. Curaçao: Scherpenheuvel. [Orig. 1982.]

SLATER, MARY, 1970. *Caribbean Cooking for Pleasure*. London: Hamlyn.

SOOKIA, DEVINIA, 1994. *Caribbean Cooking*. London: The Apple Press.

SPENCE, WENTON C., 1981. *Jamaican Cookery: Recipes from Old Jamaican Grandmothers*. Kingston: Heritage Publishers.

SPRINGER, RITA G., 1979. *Caribbean Cookbook*. London: Pan Books. [Orig. 1968.]

STARKE, A.A. & M. SAMSIN-HEWITT, 1987. *Groot Surinaams kookboek, met exotische Creoolse, Hindoestaanse, Indonesische, Chinese en Europese recepten*. Paramaribo: Stichting Eerste Surinaamse Huishoud- en Nijverheidsschool te Paramaribo. [Orig. 1976.]

SULLIVAN, CAROLINE, 1893. *The Jamaica Cookery Book: Three Hundred and Twelve Simple Receipts and Household Hints*. Kingston: Gardner.

THOMPSON, PATRICIA Y., 1990. *Caribbean Style Eating for Disaster Conditions*. Kingston: Nutrition and Diet Services.

TJON SJOE SJOE, PATRICIA, 1989. *Surinaams Indonesisch kookboek: Recepten van toen en nu*. Paramaribo: Surinaamse Kookboeken en Catering Service.

TONGE, GWEN, 1992. *Cooking Magic*. St. John's, Antigua: s.n.

VALLDEJULI, CARMEN ABOY, 1987. *Puerto Rican Cookery*. Gretna LA: Pelican.

WALSH, ROBB & JAY MCCARTHY, 1995. *Travelling Jamaica with Knife, Fork and Spoon: A Righteous Guide to Jamaican Cookery*. Freedom CA: The Crossing Press.

WILLINSKY, HELEN, 1990. *Jerk: Barbecue from Jamaica*. Freedom CA: The Crossing Press.

WOLFE, LINDA (ed.)., 1985. *The Cooking of the Caribbean Islands*. London: Macmillan. [Orig. 1970.]

WOOD, BERYL, 1973. *Caribbean Fruits and Vegetables: Selected Recipes*. Trinidad and Jamaica: Longman Caribbean.

—, 1973. *Meal Planning and Preparation for Caribbean Students*. Trinidad and Jamaica: Longman Caribbean.

WOOD, BERYL & MAGDA POLLARD, 1983. *Caribbean Schools Home Economics: Book 1*. Trinidad and Jamaica: Longman Caribbean.

B.W. HIGMAN
History Program, Research School of Social Sciences
Australian National University
Canberra 0200, Australia
bhigman@coombs.anu.edu.au